> 175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in
> the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season,
> June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views
of many upper-class _Baianos_ who identify themselves with this opulent
era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by
the colonial sugar industry is outliving the _engenho_ system. The
wealth, pride, and ostentation of these _fidalgos_ is undeniable.
Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class
life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of
the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The _casas_
[342] _grandes_--if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally
[489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult:
few _engenhos_ had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or
[571] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown
[484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class
could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made
frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and
175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists
567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were
relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These
slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British
began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and
delegation of administration to people outside the family was not
usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out
of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively
personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation-
[563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

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> was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

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582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
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596 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo are relatively large, in conformation to the Brazilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

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571 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

000 565 571 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

565 857 Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment [464] as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately [885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child-bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 562 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 776 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

565 796 [184] (*festas*) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of a *samba* (dance), a *candomblé* (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 562 369 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns. 565 596 369 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 571 621 59 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class families are local. The areally and biologically extended families of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

BB 241 178 increase his production and he rejects these opportunities, it is clear that strong non-economic forces are operating directly upon the individual. These forces are the rigid agricultural and social traditions of the Recôncavo society, which are given particular rigidity by the explicit conservatism of the Recôncavo. These traditions are given BB 241 571 178 particular force by the strongly personal character of social and economic relationships in the Recôncavo. The relationship of the share-cropper with the landlord, of the buyer of tobacco with the seller, of the cane field worker with the foreman or usina manager, of the cidade store keeper or agent with the banker or dealer in the capital, are all strongly personal and generally of long standing. Under these circumstances any adventurism by one individual will bring him, if he is in a subordinate position, under the pressure of the traditional bias of those above. If he is in a superior position, any adventurism on his part will bring him not only the criticism of all his colleagues but the personally expressed resistance of his dependents. To the present at least, the vested interest of Recôncavo culture in the fixity of its agricultural systems has successfully resisted major change.

B BB 241 The system of monocultural agriculture, represented in the Recôncavo by sugar cane cultivation, is a traditional element in Brazilian agriculture. Not only sugar cane, but also cacao, coffee, and many other commercial crops are grown in Brazil as monocultures. Specifically, sugar cane monocultures are found in Pernambuco and the other states of the Northeast, in Rio de Janeiro, in Minas Gerais, and in São Paulo.

However, in Brazil as in the Recôncavo, monoculture is being superseded by diversified cultivation. "Too much has . . . been made of the misleading statement that Brazil is a 'one-crop' country," Wythe has said.[7] In the center and south of the country, growing

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249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Reconcavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry
whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government
does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks
or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
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439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an
end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete
successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and
from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal
market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry
for several centuries.

277 There are several possible explanations for the relatively
472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more prominent
249 firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
178 have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background.
Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco
economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes
in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry
and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible
leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has
given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

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*[illegible]9 ditions and of paternalism. Here, the privately owned plantation is also still an important element.

In the community on which the present study focuses, there
is a modern sugar factory or usina, but control by the factory
[473] of the entire process, from cane planting and harvesting
to milling, is far from complete. Although the factory,
[423] in this case a family corporation, has bought up six neighboring
plantations, at least half its supply of sugar cane comes
from individual, family-owned plantations. Owners of these
plantations, which have conserved their original boundaries,
are often descendants of the aristocratic landholders of the
past, and many of their workers are descendants of slaves
who lived on the same plantations.

121 In this community, changes in sugar-producing technology
have not reached down into the actual cane cultivation on the
178 plantations. Emphasis has been on the improvement of milling
*249 techniques, the further refinement of sugar-cane juice,
and the perfection of the finished product by the central mill.
But the agricultural methods--planting, cultivation, harvesting,
and transportation--have remained relatively unchanged.
121 Most important of all, with the retention of these older techniques
has gone the retention to a very great degree of the old
178 accompanying social system. The present social system tends
*249 to follow the old, traditional, family-oriented, slaveholding
•571 complex. The pattern of face-to-face interpersonal relations,
developed during centuries of sugar-cane monoculture based
on slavery, persists in a modified form. Although the relations
between workers and owner on these family plantations
are now those of employee and employer, and not slave and
owner, there is still the highly personal, intimate relationship
based upon mutual rights and obligations and a sense of
the obligations of nobility. Even the usina system perpetuates
this paternalism to a high degree.

121 The present work is a "community study" in the full sense of the term as it is understood today in social anthropology. It is primarily a descriptive analysis of one community in the sugar-producing region of northeastern Brazil, but it is conceived within the framework of the historical sequence outlined above.

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•571 the plantation complex became the principal characteristic.
175 Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought
425 new alignments of property, some families acquiring more
58 land and others losing it through the natural processes of the
* marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of
249 others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the
[594] conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous;
marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives
[596] were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring
plantations, and of course many marriages took place
as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to
find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned
175 by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its
571 traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of
596 the family frequently resided there, although not always. The
*249 patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by
* the members of his family, both far and near.

565 Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the
175 province, and many of them were representatives of the government.
*565 In this way the plantation master was securely establishing
himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo
571 but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a
*249 position to see that the government action did not adversely
[423] affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate,
for several centuries social and political domination was in
the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always
strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost,
the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional
people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators,
[669] and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers,
and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters
of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and
financially, for which many were later honored by having royal
titles bestowed upon them.

175 As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they
*249 also fell under the domination of one or several plantation
*565 masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families
to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the
578 plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power
with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by
travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and
nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can
be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

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time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the _moleque_ (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1]

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The seventeenth century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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[1] J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, _Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944_ (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

* 249 lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest 466 time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other [427] times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household [492] dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one of several things: go to work in the field herself, the least popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult, for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return to her father's house.

*249 A group of workers who are essential to the well-being of the plantation, but who are not residents, are the 464 *caatingueiros* (migrant workers from the scrubby forest area which borders on the Recôncavo and extends into the desert to the north). Hundreds of these men are available during the harvest season, a time when not only the plantations but the factories as well need more men than the resident population provides. The town of Vila Recôncavo, the other small rural towns, and the capital city do not supply agricultural workers to the rural areas. The plantations use instead the migrants from the north. A system has grown up whereby each plantation and factory has a man who can contact these migrant • [571] laborers. This man is called the *empreiteiro*, a contractor who has a system of contacts in the north usually through family [466] and godparent relationships. The migrant workers are housed in the barracks, and generally keep themselves well apart from the residents. Only men come, leaving their families at home to care for their small farms and livestock while they earn money in the Recôncavo. None of these men appears on the plantation payroll. It is the *empreiteiro* who contracts with the overseer to have the required work done by the migrant laborers. Usually this work consists only of weeding, which must be done constantly but which at harvest time the [465] resident workers cannot do. On the list of jobs and wages, above, there appears the name of Mario Adriano, who received 921,30 *cruzeiros* for weeding 249 *braças*. This man is the *empreiteiro*, who is paid for work done by fifteen, twenty, or more men. He in turn pays the migrant laborers, giving them less than the price for which he agreed with the overseer to do the work. In this way the contractor earns a living. Throughout the harvest season he gets work for about seventy-five to one hundred migrants, who camp in and about the barracks and

have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season 249*
they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo to- 464
ward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick
from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few
possessions.

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people 249*
in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for 466
so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not
a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the 571
relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems [567]
to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality per-
sists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças
between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the res-
idents by name or nickname, knows their background and pres-
ent condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family back-
ground, her children, and her extended family.

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbi-
trates any differences between workers, or between a worker
and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against in-
justices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and bap-
tisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do
through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a cu- 249*
rious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The 463
role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the pri- 466
mary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep 571
the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary
for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the
time; so the former *feitor-mor* became known as the over-
seer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else
on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the over-
seer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto him-
self, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in
all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of [608]
the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He even-
tually becomes related to nearly all of them through the sys-
tem of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than
the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the [465]
overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in
the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison
with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he re-
ceives a bonus at the end of the year, one *cruzeiro* for each
ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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Dona Sinhá and other plantation owners feel that a plantation cannot be successful without a good overseer, and they also feel that the white man does not make a good overseer. They say he cannot stand the heat of the summer and the rain and mud of the winter when spending entire days in the saddle overseeing the work. Only the indefatigable mestiço is supposed to be able to take such punishment. The owners also say that only he can deal properly with the mestiço workers--that, being one himself, he knows their "foibles and tricks." To a certain extent the mestiço population seems to agree with this, for orders from the overseer are much more promptly obeyed than orders from the owner, and most of the workmen prefer to have the overseer explain what is wanted. It is also believed that the mestiço is stronger. For example, if Dona Sinhá has made a hard trip in the winter to get to the plantation the workers will sympathize with her, saying, "You came through all that rain and mud, and at night!" when the same trip may be a daily one for the overseer, the cowboy, or any of the workers.

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However, the creation of the position of overseer has also created a series of new problems for the owners. All owners now suspect their overseers of cheating them, and the control of the overseer is a subject which comes up frequently at social gatherings. Since the owner is absent from the plantation about half the year, there are many things which the overseer must do without consulting his employer. The owners will interpret independent action on the overseer's part as good management, mismanagement, or cheating, depending upon the results of the action. When the results are doubtful and there is any suspicion that the overseer might have gained money by his action, it is considered cheating. Very often the owners claim that the overseer and the foreman are "partners" working together against him.

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On one plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo, the owner decided he would be his own overseer. He was young and had been born and brought up on the plantation. Within a few years his harvest had dropped to almost nothing, and lately he has changed to raising milk cows, at which he has not been particularly successful either. He himself, and all his friends, blame his lack of success on the lack of an overseer, saying that even though the old overseer had cheated and helped himself to what was not his, the plantation as a whole had not suffered as badly as it did without him.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs 249*
than they feel necessary and less profit than they think pos- 463
sible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept
the complete failure of the plantation Overseers, foremen, 466
and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the 571
traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete
openly keep the situation covert.

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these dif- 249*
ficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sin- 463
há and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined gen- 426
erally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year.
There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to [433]
increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand.

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests 249*
of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das 43
Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued, for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo.
Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In [426]
addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year
the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to [407]
purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a
result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- [493]

[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than 249*
any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" 466
to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as 184
possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer
is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar
cane.

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo 249*
generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has 423
not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation.

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of 249*
workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. 36
Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a
private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an [206]
electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's 249*
house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as
indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belong- 571
ing to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory [184]
plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen.

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plan- 249*
tations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It 463
is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six 466
plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over-

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are
too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and
soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale
prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an
x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which
are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which
529 has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, central-
ly located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and
[546] a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks.
This place has become the major meeting place for the men
743 and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also
873 runs a night school for adults.

Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, con-
463 sists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and
[571] who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to
some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons
[462] in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female
pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells,
which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty
462 clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their
463 heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buck-
[482] ets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After
a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are
spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time
water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then
the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending
upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take
from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are
considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be
[463] ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do
the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and fre-
[178] quently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are
the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the
fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire
or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons
going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 Many women also prepare xangô, a small sardinelike fish
252 caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-
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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers,
is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from
the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[361] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return
●[571] for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall un-
[476] der the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of
carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several
[821] trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.
This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
[492] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman
would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

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constantly growing, or at least changing. New members are added, people who have made their mark on the society and who, although they have less family tradition behind them, are on the whole acceptable to the elite.

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Locally the upper-class members are addressed by the formal term o senhor and a senhora, at times by meu patrão or meu branco (my white), frequently by title name, such as "Dr. Louis," and in some cases by the traditional intimate term of yoyô (for a man) and yayá (for a woman). At times even the very formal, older term of Vossa Excelencia (Your Excellency) is used. Yoyô is an old term formerly used by some slaves toward their masters, and although it is generally restricted to white people, there are occasions when a member of a mulatto family is known to his intimates as yoyô. With rare exceptions, members of the upper class address all those below them simply as você, and usually use the imperative form of the verb in giving directions. These two linguistic devices tend to strengthen and maintain the differences between these groups of people. [182]

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Relations between members of Class A and those below are simple. As has already been stated, the landowners avoid the town of Vila Recôncavo, and it is seldom that Class B town people are invited to a social gathering at a plantation or at the factory, so that these two classes are rarely in social contact. Since the rural Class B consists mainly of overseers and other employees of Class A, relationships between them are those of employee and employer. However, when a planter celebrates a special occasion such as a birthday, the overseers are invited, and may "drop in" as a matter of form or courtesy; they escape as soon as possible, for they are rarely included in the brincadeiras (plays, or jokes) of the owners and their guests. For the most part the overseers and others of their class come alone, without their wives and families. This is an important indication of class position, for as a rule the wife of an overseer feels embarrassed in the company of gente (people) and refuses to go even when specially invited. The very strong em familia pattern, combined with the intimacy of the large families, makes it extremely difficult for a lower-class person to feel any sort of equality at such a gathering. [466]

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During the course of field-work the author was given a party, a Reis, a kind of surprise party which takes place during the period following the sixth of January, the Day of Kings.

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574 A group of people decide to "take a party of kings" to someone's house.
123 They wait until the lights in the house go out late at night and then knock on the door, playing and singing
● 571 a song which is traditional for the purpose. The owner must then open the house and let everyone in to dance and make merry. The surprise element has been removed, for it is now considered courteous to sound out the householder to see whether he would like to be the recipient of such a party, and also to give him time to prepare food and drink. The householder also has the privilege of inviting anyone he wants who might be overlooked by those who organize the party. A group of young men approached the author in the prescribed manner, and in due course all arrangements were completed. The young men were to supply an electric phonograph and records for the dancing, and the author was requested to invite the rural planters, especially those with daughters.

A group of twenty-four planters and about a hundred townspeople, factory technicians, overseers, and a few men of urban Class C came to the party. The planters arrived in a truck a little early and entered the house, which was then closed
[533] and the lights turned off. Shortly afterwards the others arrived
[178] at the door and knocked, and the band began to play the long serenade. (A band was brought along for the song, which is an important part of the *Reis*; but nowadays no one likes to dance to a hometown band when records are available, so the men played only the serenade and then put their instruments away.) At the end of the song, the doors and windows were opened and the guests began to pour in.

571 The rooms of the house were small, but all the furniture
*565 had been removed to make room for dancing in the two largest
574 rooms, which were joined by two wide doors. At the beginning of the party everyone was very formal and shy; the young
535 men remained on one side of the room, the young women on
.123 the other, and the entire planter group in a huddle by itself.
571 Gradually things got under way, and as drinks were served to *esquentar a gente* (warm up the people) as many as could dance in the cramped quarters did so. For the first hour or so all the guests mingled, dancing with one another; then gradually the members of Class A began to pull away, at first beginning to dance among themselves and finally usurping a third room in which they danced away from the others, uninterrupted by anyone.

Reactions to this were varied in the days after the party

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when the affair was discussed. The young men were rather disappointed by the withdrawal of the upper-class girls, for they had looked forward to dancing with them with great expectations. Their disappointment, however, was expressed by saying, "We dance differently, and since it was the first time together there wasn't time to get used to each others' style." Some of the older men simply asked, "What did you expect? You know they don't mix with us." The planters, on the other hand, enjoyed the party but were embarrassed by the fact that they had created a separate group and ended up by saying that "the only kind of good party is a family party, which it was for us."

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This party was by no means typical, for the very existence of such an affair was due to the presence of a stranger in the town who was able to bring together the different elements. Under other conditions it would not have taken place. Under the novel conditions, each group after completing the formalities withdrew to itself, enjoying the party and creating no embarrassing moments for the host. Reflection on what had happened pointed out to everyone the distance between the two groups, but there was no bitterness or resentment shown by anyone. It passed as an incident, and afterwards people discussed only the part of the party they had enjoyed, ignoring the rest.

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Class A members participate in a broader schedule of activities in Salvador, where not only planters, but also professional, commercial, and industrial people mix. The children of Class A go to private schools, belong to the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (organizations which have not as yet penetrated the rural zone) and to social clubs for sports and dancing. Their parents participate in a round of social activities including the theater, lectures, dances, and anniversaries. Birthdays are usually important celebrations, when as many members of the extended family as possible gather. For special occasions, such as a wedding in other parts of the family, they may go to Rio de Janeiro; at other times they go there simply for a vacation or on a shopping tour. Those who own plantations usually spend only the summer harvest season in the country. It is vacation time for the children, and they invite relatives and friends to spend some time with them swimming, fishing, hunting, and horseback riding. The entire area is their playground. Their parents participate in these activities as much as possible after their official duties of plan-

*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other *565 must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have 511 earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other elec- [416] trical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian [207] dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their [184] houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service pro- [357] vided by servants. Usually the household servants move from [166] country to city with the family.

Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of *565 plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar ● 571 workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the [574] planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

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The plantation 565 *
worker's world is small, and conversational topics are
limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, 571 ●
sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the [521]
problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can
know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through
observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However,
his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite
of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives
than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between [574]
the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more
equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living
and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, 565 *
it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas 571
celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator,
rather than host and participant. At other times the workers 574
may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to
the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently explained
as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the [535]
owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by
women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more
sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort 565 *
of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any way with the corresponding class in town. There are two overseers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read or write. In all cases the male members of this class have set up and maintained a family, educating their children and seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous posses- 565 *
sions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, 423
and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also op- [422]
erate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a
chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also [443]
try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the
employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus, [466]
lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

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ter) and homens de côr (men of color) including a few pretos (blacks).

Most individuals in this class are conscious of their "superiority" over the bulk of the town population, because of their higher economic status, the kind of work they do (usually white-collar), their better educations, better family traditions, and whiter, or at least lighter, skins. They are conscious of the fact that they are at the top of the scale on the local scene, and that to go any higher is impossible in the town. To do this they would have to move to a city. If one had a special ability he might be able to improve his condition in a large city, but he might also remain unrecognized. In the town he is the "big frog in the little pond," and this seems to give a certain amount of satisfaction to many. [557]

People of Class B seek to maintain favorable relations with the rural landowners, who dispense the municipal patronage and have the contacts in Salvador necessary to influence federal and state appointments, since members of their families are frequently state and federal government representatives. 565* 441 Only the merchants of Class B are in a relatively independent position, for they can operate independently of politics. Their market is the town population and is in no way dependent upon trade or patronage from the planters or their workers. There are no traditional merchant families in Vila Recôncavo. All contemporary storekeepers are persons who have worked their way up from fishing or some other activity to storekeeping.

565* 183 This class is slowly growing, and there are certain standards to which all its members conform, such as living in the old part of town, dressing with more care than the lower classes, supporting the church and patronizing the few religious holiday celebrations, sending their children to Salvador for their secondary education, owning radios, good dishes and furniture, displaying family solidarity and good manners, and maintaining a good relationship with members of Class A. [571] But there is little or no cohesion among members of the group. They seldom act as a unit or express a group opinion (except to condemn candomblé, the local variation of African cultism).

565* 517 The social life of these people is definitely limited and to some extent follows the same pattern as that of the rural members of the same class, in that the men go out more than do their wives. The women of this group remain at home most

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
[546] become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
[541] to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
once. As a rule, however, church services are attended sep-
[794] arately, the wives and daughters going together and the men
singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings
with friends in the house, such as are common to North Amer-
ican small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only trav-
eling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with rel-
atives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go
* shopping.

565 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated
871 than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are
nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in
Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there.
Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Re-
côncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they
are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
* present generation are studying for degrees in law and med-
565 icine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
● [571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
[867] longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
[582] and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
*565 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôn-
582 cavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
875 happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the
schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-
good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Re-
côncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both
schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and
* alleviating the dullness of their lives.

565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the
factory workers, who constitute the major part of the pop-
ulation. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

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have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo shows a considerable Indian element, that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin color, more prominent cheekbones than the Africans or whites, and a tendency toward an almond-shaped eye. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called caboclos. They are classified instead in the local terms mentioned above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the caboclo. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo. [157] He is often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, and frugal, but less genial than the easygoing person of the Recôncavo. [571] In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many caboclo men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the resident workers of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the sertão, apart from the permanent workers.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: [162]

Preto	50, or 40 per cent
Mulato	59, or 49 per cent
Caboclo	3, or 2 per cent
Branco	11, or 9 per cent

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Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behavior reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types. Two physical types, for example, the cabra-cabrocha and the sararâ, are usually "more to be pitied than censured," for they are considered ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types, and "even a preto de qualidade is better than either of these--at least more handsome." Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with. They are sometimes irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types least preferred in Vila Recôncavo; all oth-

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[Class A Families]

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to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priesthood 178
or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only because
of the smaller size of the families, but also because [463]
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and settled 178
in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of being 562
married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them (463)
have entered the professions, but recently it has become stylish
to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, without
the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a desire
to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would 178
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least [206]
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expected
at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of family
members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside acquaintances 571 •
more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, patriarchal
families which gives people their status in the community 178
as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

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596 the first thing done on making new acquaintances is to inquire [178] into their family background and place them mentally on the appropriate social level.

[571] As a rule each extended family has a head, usually the oldest male. He is recognized by the rest of the family as the leader, and few things are done by them without his knowledge and advice. The head of the Jacuipe family is the eldest son of Dona Yayá. He has made his home in Rio de Janeiro and has not lived in Salvador for a long time. Nevertheless, he is informed of all that goes on within the family, and no serious step would be taken by any member without his counsel. On the local scene, however, it is his next younger sister who has taken the family lead in all social activities. It is she who sees to it that the family is represented at any function where it is a duty to appear. Among the Condes, the Colonel is still the family head in spite of his age and infirmity. For many years his eldest son showed himself capable of taking charge of the sugar mill and of the family fortunes as well, but since his untimely death none of the other sons has shown such vigor, and in the long run major decisions are left to the old gentleman.

[594] In the conjugal households, however, decisions and actions are made jointly by the married partners. Unless the action is a very serious one which might affect the rest of the family, they need by no means seek advice from the family head. The family leader has no strong control over the other members of the family; rather, he is someone to whom they can go if they need advice. Also, if any member of the family is in difficulties of any sort, the rest of the group rallies around him under the direction of such a person. Because of the many positions in public life occupied by members of these extended families, the family is able to muster considerable *pistolão* ("pull") in many fields. Requests are frequently made, especially to aid lower-class people who look to the various [557] family members as patrons. A call here or there by the recognized leader of a large extended family can be a great assistance in getting someone into the already crowded hospitals, in helping with a will which has become entangled in legal difficulties, in getting a young man into the Air Force, and in the myriad other things which arise in this very personalized culture.

[73] The cohesiveness of the extended family also acts to take [589] care of the aged, infirm, widowed, and unmarried. Not infre-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class B Families]

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capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often
594 indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may be-
long to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class fam-
ilies are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families
the husband is the central figure, participating in business
and social activities of the town, while his wife and children,
[166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to
the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there
[871] is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town.
At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of
Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher
office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they
marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only
apparent in the second generation, and there are only three
* cases of it.

565 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôn-
517 cavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among
themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there
●[571] is little social gathering, especially for the women. There
[596] are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those
described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one an-
[574] other's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters
seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and
[562] caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school
in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marry-
[871] ing and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young peo-
[166] ple, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in
comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The
[183] sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback rid-
ing, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and fes-
[528] tivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging
in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower-
*565 class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do noth-
562 ing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their moth-
ers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to
517 gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

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473 poration has extensive landholdings in other parts of the state,
but they are exploited on an impersonal, profit basis, not on
*249 the traditional, paternalistic basis common in the sugar area.

*[565] The Helvetians have taken a place in the upper ranks of Bahian society, representing new money and economic power. Their history is important. The original immigrant married into a Bahian family of "good name," and all of his sons have done the same. One of them married a daughter of the Coronel, founder of Usina São Pedro. It was through this marriage that the transfer of the factory was channeled. Today, although the Condes still own stock in the corporation, the Helvetians have the controlling interest, and the Condes are gradually selling their shares to the Helvetians.

466 The new corporation has brought about many changes in ad-
178 ministration of the factory. Although still a family corporation,
it has become, from the wider, community, point of view, a
*249 strictly business enterprise with no family ties and no face-
473 to-face personal relations. A new directorship and management was established. The new "boss" of the factory is a man
[596] from a different part of the state, and his background is entirely different from that of sugar-cane growers. The thread
●[571] of "family" is still unbroken, for the new manager is related to the new owning family by marriage. He is treated, however, as a paid employee of the corporation. His brother, now general administrator of the agricultural part of the factory-in-the-field, is treated similarly.

These two new managers have put the relations between management and labor on a strictly business basis and have removed all elements of paternalism. Upon taking over, they dismissed most of the older, higher-level factory, field, and office workers. Administrators, mechanics, and bookkeepers, most of whom had seen twenty years or more of service, were dispatched. New people came to take their places, and some of the vacancies were filled by promotions. Time clocks were installed, and the system of authority was reinforced all the way down the line. Social legislation--a new factor in rural, agricultural Brazil--was invoked to take the place of paternalism.

178 Thus the old, paternalistic, personal, owner-director pat-
*249 tern has changed completely. The chalet is no longer the scene
of family gatherings for summer vacations, for Carnaval, or for Christmas; even the traditional Botada has undergone a

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change. New faces and basically different relationships pre- [466]
vail at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an 178
increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory.
The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, 249*
the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did be- 433
fore, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is
able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can [471]
be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the
factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each [466]
plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila 178
Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five 249*
years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo,
the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing fea- [466]
ture: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker
relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Opera- 178
tions are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but pri- 249*
vate planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain
aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; 461
trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields [492]
to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an
increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and [493]
mechanical cultivators are already in use on some planta- [407]
tions. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, [492]
and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no me-
chanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, [407]
and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few sci- [242]
entific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still
first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations 178
have also undergone considerable change, in both business 249*
and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have
succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters 571 •
who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of
the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers re-
sented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers.
Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers
instituted several new policies in relations with the cane sup- [443]
pliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the
sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had [452]
their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying [407]
for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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*249 pliers were presented with accounts showing how much cane
had been sent to the mill, the price, how much the factory had
•571 paid the bank on the supplier's loans, how much had been ad-
452 vanced the supplier for his cane, and how much was still owed
the supplier, discounting the costs of services received from
407 the factory facilities. This has been traditional practice, not
only at Usina São Pedro, but also at the other factories of the
178 area. Now, however, Usina São Pedro expects to receive
cash at the moment of the transaction for each such service
*249 the supplier receives. In addition, the factory has gradually
571 cut down on the number of services it offers the suppliers.
This has been particularly serious regarding services of the
407 mechanics, as the private suppliers have no other source of
437 repair for their machines except in the city; taking them into
the city costs a great deal of time and is more expensive than
were the services performed by the factory mechanics.

178 The new managers at first charged an automatic discount
*249 upon the cane tonnage supplied by each private plantation. This
resulted in a considerable loss of money at the end of the year
571 for each private supplier, thereby straining even more the
relations which daily were becoming more and more disagree-
432 able. Any question of scale and tonnage is a touchy one for
private planters, who sell their cane by the weight. The dis-
[656] count charged on general principles by the factory was so
serious a matter that several of the private suppliers united
and called the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol to their defense
and succeeded in correcting the situation. This was a "first"
for Usina São Pedro, where such a thing had never before
happened, and where such a recourse is considered an ex-
treme.

178 Social relationships between the private planters and the
*249 managers of the factory are almost nonexistent. Whereas a
few years ago the factory was the central gathering point for
571 the social life of the planters of the area, it is now a place to
be avoided. In addition to making working conditions difficult,
the new managers and their families are "outsiders" in this
small, closed plantation society, with different backgrounds
and manners. As a result of the new conditions, the private
planters are spending more time on their plantations than be-
fore, but their social life rotates from one plantation to an-
other, skipping the factory nucleus. This pattern is also re-
flected in the activities of the resident workers, who are up-
set at the treatment shown to the older employees of the fac-

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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from 249*
visiting the factory nucleus.

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An overall result of the new conditions between private
planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers
of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of
the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories,
when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously [311]
considering shifting to another crop, as will be described
below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been
taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future
cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São
Pedro.

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost
preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor
business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities
of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The
factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the
mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the
factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under
other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon
the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an [452]
easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual
planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since
the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even
a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity [425]
to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain.

The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has 178
also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the 249*
entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price
of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and 43
has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide [656]
social legislation in the past three years has raised
the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases
were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling [458]
inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials,
and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done [466]
have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become
a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent.
The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than
ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply,
since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are
soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost
of production and the established selling price.

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the workers'
discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by
468 violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the
sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo
participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it affected
some private plantations as well, and was joined by
*249 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down immediately
468 and effectively by the state police. On investigation
the police found considerable Communist literature and propaganda
467 in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had
organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since
668 it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its leaders
[625] were well-known Communist agitators. What is important
for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo
of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the
willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in
a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative
area, where loyalty and paternalism have always
been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and private
*249 planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming
a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
• 571 Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly
466 since all machinery must be imported, are also working
toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern
described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the planters
245 began experimenting with cacao during the author's first
242 period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five
years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will
give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao
of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success
and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a
possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the
cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giving
178 a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the
*[249] world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction
of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

178 245 242 can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

[434] At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

178 245 461 464 [407] Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

178 245 433 *[247] Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export--and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit. ●[571] This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

178 315 433 A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built [425] its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant,
and a service center for the unmarried field workers. [425]

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure
brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively
few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, [464]
not affecting communal life to any great extent, and
not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps
in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with
headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a
product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most
part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have
come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military
base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary
basis.

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the [362]
number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for
the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred [571] •
a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a
result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity
due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still [493]
no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. [494]
The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever
possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting [484]
to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public
services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be
almost nonexistent.

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the 178
town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had 315
an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. 433
Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay
of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater 226
explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and
digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of
the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological
balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning
away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative
activity, either outside the community or in the
petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry.
Others are turning to service occupations, such as
bricklaying, as stopgap activities.

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The 178
planters of the area have profited to some extent because of 315
the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 433
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travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

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The planters have also profited in another manner. Petrobrás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks, and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands. As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

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There has been little social intercourse between the planters and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

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A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

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On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

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[1] The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

175 by
247 HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

[13]

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By [439] the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil [633] became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital [346] of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

175 249 567 565 It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north- [571] eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

[122] [1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the *Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc.* and the *Department of Anthropology of Columbia University*, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of *Carmelita Junqueira Ayres* and *Elisa Amelia Ferreira* for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 48.

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

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By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

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II. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognised the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557-74),

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829 is the darling of all the racial types, and she can do almost no wrong.

There are also stereotypes regarding the white. He is someone who should not work, who should not get dirty or perspire because of work (in sport it is all right). The white is expected to be well educated, well dressed, wealthy, and to have power—both politically and as a landowner. He should also show a certain sense of responsibility toward those of the lower classes dependent upon him, protecting them against any violation of their rights, watching out for his *afilhados* (godchildren) of lower class, and distributing occa-
563 sional favours. The white is addressed by the formal *o senhor*, while
576 he in return addresses all others by the popular *você*. The white may also receive the very informal and affectionate form of address *yoyó* (for a man) or *yayá* (for a lady), which was traditionally used by slaves for their masters. Interestingly enough, it is usually the darkest of the *pretos* (even the most independent of them) who generally use this form of greeting. *Vossa Excelência* (Your Excellency) is also heard frequently when people of low status of an older generation address an 'aristocratic' white. Sometimes, whites are addressed simply as *meu branco* (my white). When the lower class refer to 'aristocratic white' or when whites talk of themselves, they may simply use the term *gente*, which means more than the simple dictionary definition of 'people': *gente* is synonymous with white, upper class, and wealth. The stereotypes regarding the white and, above all, the very terms by which he is addressed, are in keeping with his landowning aristocratic position.

563 This complicated classification of people by racial type, and these
571 numerous stereotypes of the *homem de côr* by the white and vice-versa, are particularly striking in the Recôncavo. In addition to being simply a way of describing a person, like saying he is short or tall, thin or fat, they also imply what people desire in those of other physical types. The white wants good workers, cheerful people in whom he can have confidence. The *homem de côr* wants and needs a protector, a *patrão*, someone who will help him when he needs help,
563 who will be godfather to his children, etc. But at times people will
578 employ these terms in a derogatory manner. A white, displeased by
571 something a *preto* has done or has not done, will frequently say *'que negro ruim'* (what a bad Negro!). But his *preta* cook may say the same thing of the *mulato claro* water-carrier who spills water on her kitchen floor. In the same way, a *preto* or *mestiço* who has been disappointed by a white may say *'que gente ruim'* (literally: what bad people!). Each of these two expressions has its counterpart of approval. The *'que negro bom'* (what a good Negro) has a wealth of meaning. Applied to whatever *homem de côr*, it expresses all that is warm and good that has developed during four centuries of close relationship between Negro and white. It is at once an apology for oppression and slavery, as well as an immediate thank-you. And for

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the *homem de côr* to say '*Êle É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity. [571]

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangue*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and *mestiços* who are showing off, or 'pushing'. Most of these start off with *Negro*:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together. [539]
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not. 563 125

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males, [114]

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[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community.

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plantera. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send [565]
their children to the capital to continue their education, and there [872]
are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law,
medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the [828]
mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the
darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are [829]
not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has
somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro,
meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the
knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only 563
one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all
shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all 529
sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives 526
shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white
man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to
play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation
centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to
keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the
beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together 563
here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of 529
public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price
is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. [565]
Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church
there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front 563
and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the 565
acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, [546]
colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos*
and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump). [794]

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely [574]
personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plan-
tation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at 249
the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the 178
numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping 571
between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not 466
all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the
plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists [463]
and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party [574]
given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of
saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor
wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business
basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post
where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house.
On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not
in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the [465]
industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too
large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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571 trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship
466 has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes,
[468] and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen
[467] of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

249 It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white
466 owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina*
463 owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the
571 plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

249 In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and
46 more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina*
571 or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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571 VII. The relations between people of different physical types in
466 Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown
249 out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned plantations in the vicinity.

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites 249
descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, 565
marrying among themselves and living out their own social life 571
apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the com-
munity. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend 563
upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the 466
faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in 178
the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master
and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent
trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the [463]
intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureau-
crat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on
the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since
colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites
and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one
lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and
each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice 563
or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western
world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a 565
well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy 463
social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a 178
grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no
political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed
descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high
political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner
who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureau-
cratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or
mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white
group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed
population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of
colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness
always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The adminis-
trators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier
saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their em-
ployers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class
and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to
join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to
deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class
groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as [794]
candomblé and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and
people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to
disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, 565
there are more and more problems of class relationships; the popu- 563
lation is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in- 178

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The emergence of new employment opportunities, especially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

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Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

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industrialized cities at least, these intermediate ranks have developed into a definite middle class.

The so-called "traditional" families, who for so long virtually constituted almost the entire upper class, still play an important role in industrial, commercial, intellectual, and political activities; but although they perhaps were never a completely closed unit, they now are having to accept into their ranks as never before an increasing number of persons who have risen from the intermediate tiers by reason of occupational or educational achievement, acquired wealth, or political influence.

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Brazil is thus in process of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural and pastoral society, with a rather rigid class system, to an urban and industrialized society, where class lines are somewhat less important, and other elements of the economic, political and sociological structures are changing. There is a considerable degree of fluidity, in the midst of which the high value formerly placed upon primary relations, particularly the intimate attachments of members of large kinship, godparent or friendship groups, upon exclusiveness toward groups outside those of immediate personal contact, upon class membership, and upon loyalty is giving away, and new values are emerging. These changes are so extensive that Charles Wagley (1960a) has referred to them as "the Brazilian revolution."

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Owing also to the complex and rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation, its analysis is not an easy or simple procedure. Regarding the fact that this differs from that in the United States there is no disagreement. But there is disagreement regarding the character of this difference, its extent, and the circumstances which produced it.

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A sizable obstacle to analyzing this situation, and also to making it intelligible to persons in the United States, is a

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confusion over terms, particularly those whose form is identical but whose meaning varies in the two situations. So powerful is the grip of habit over the mind that the connotation of a word in our own culture tends automatically to be carried over into our thinking about an apparent referent elsewhere, even though we may be aware of the difference in meaning. This is particularly true of the general public; but it is also true to some extent of specialists and occurs even in spite of their normal caution.

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The simple use of the term "Negro," for instance, when describing the Bahian racial situation, automatically conveys to many persons United States meanings from which it is difficult to escape (cf. E. Franklin Frazier 1942:465). Moreover, the unwarranted assumption on the part of those who use the English language, or who are familiar with it, that the Brazilian term "prêto" can be translated by "Negro," and "branco" by "white," adds to the confusion.

These terms are not interchangeable. In the United States "white" means "of undiluted Caucasian descent"; but in Brazil "branco" can mean "a predominantly white person, no matter what his racial origin," including thousands of light mixed-bloods and, in the case of prestige-bearing individuals, darker mixed-bloods and even an occasional black; or it can mean, at times, merely "a person of prestige" or simply "my friend." On the other hand, "Negro" in the United States means "anyone descended in any degree from an African, *including all mixed-bloods*" (provided origin is known); while "prêto" in Brazil may mean "a person with noticeably Negroid traits" or, at times, merely "a person of low status"[4] or simply "a personal enemy."

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[4] Particularly revealing in this respect is an incident witnessed in Sergipe by Felte Bezerra (1950:252). On the beach at a seaside town a

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"Branco" and "prêto" are, therefore, first of all, categories of *physical appearance* rather than of race, so that a child will not necessarily be identified with the same "race" as one, or even both, of his parents. These terms also are categories of *social position*, so that rising in rank can take a colored person out of the colored category, a fact observed long ago at Recife by "the careful Koster," as Sir Richard Burton called him (see p. 219 of this book). These and similar terms employed in Brazil are descriptive not only of racial descent but of other and more important (to local individuals) phenomena; and, even more significantly, as we (1955:434) and others have pointed out, the use of these terms *varies with individuals*, in keeping with varying personal relationships, and also with the *same* individual at different times, in keeping with different moods or other circumstances.

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In the United States one ordinarily hears only two terms being employed regularly in this connection: "Negro" and "white." "Mulatto" also is used but less often, as are certain other terms in popular speech. Nevertheless, as far as the behavior of the superordinate group is concerned, the principal terms are two; and all persons will be classified with reference to these two categories and behavior will be oriented in keeping with that classification.

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In Brazil, on the other hand, the situation is quite different; for one thing, there exists a whole series of what at

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group of persons from the lower class were engaged in a folk dance, accompanied by singing, known as *cururu*. Although composed largely (but not exclusively) of colored persons, this group was led by a lower-class white. Approaching several other persons nearby, who were spending their vacation at the seaside, and asking if they would like his group to sing and dance where they could be seen and heard more easily, the white leader referred to himself and to the other members of his group as "Nois prêtos" (We blacks).

racial terms? In the first place, they are not racial terms at all; and, in the second place, they are only in part terms even of physical appearance. Although the classification of a given individual appears *at first sight* to be made on the basis of race, or at least of physical appearance, it actually is arrived at in a more complex way, as was implied in our Bahian study, as Harris (1964) and Harris and Kottak (1963) have since pointed out more specifically and in greater detail. It may, of course, be derived in part from physical appearance; but it also is derived from the possession of one or more of the other criteria of rank; for instance, personal, occupational or educational achievement; or the accumulation of wealth. This fact has long been reflected at Bahia in the common saying, "A rich black is a white man, and a poor white is a black"; in Koster's oft-quoted remark of his servant's disputing the ascription of "mulatto" to a man of high administrative position at Recife, by asking "How can a Head-Captain be a mulatto?"; and in Wagley's report of a dark mixed-blood of rank at Itá who is considered to be a branca (1964:134). Moreover, it reflects the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the one spoken about. As Emilio Willems[8] reminds us, a person "who is one's friend tends to be a branco; or if he is too dark to be called that, he will be at least a *moreno* (brunette). But if he becomes one's enemy, he is called 'that mulatto' or 'that black,' " with pejorative adjectives attached.

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Brazilians are not blind to physical differences. No investigator has indicated any doubt that a person's appearance—particularly the texture of his hair and the color of his skin—are observed, and at least occasionally referred to, by all Brazilians, whatever their rank. However, at Arem-

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[8] In a letter to the author.

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"a very small and even ridiculous group"; and—what is even more important for our interest here—the attitudes involved are individually derived attitudes: they are held by discrete individuals or by an occasional family or group of families; they are not general attitudes which have been derived from the experience of the Brazilian people as a whole, and especially in the midst of grave apprehension that an established group position is threatened.

In those cases where the referent is color, these authors are dealing, as we suggested many years ago, with the color overtones of class distinction, for color is one of the criteria of rank. However, it is only *one* criterion; and its value in relation to the other criteria will vary with the individual in question, with his personal experience and relationships, and —what is most important—it *can be overbalanced* by the demonstrated possession of other and compensatory criteria of rank.[12] These are not the characteristics of a situation of race prejudice.

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It is the opinion of Emilio Willems (1949:407), a shrewd observer of the Brazilian scene for many years, particularly in São Paulo, that adverse positioning with reference to persons of color exists "only as a discreet attitude among small minorities of white middle- and upper-class people"; and that, even among these individuals, there is considerable doubt that "any kind of consensus" has emerged regarding either the forms or the degree of discrimination. In other words, we are dealing here with a basically class—and not a strictly racial or even a strictly color—phenomenon; and

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[12] Conversely, its value can be *intensified* by a lack of other criteria. "Light-skinned individuals who rank extremely low in terms of educational and occupational criteria," as Harris (1964:59) also has observed, "are frequently regarded as actually being darker in color than they really are."

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also with a series of attitudes characteristic of a *statistical aggregate* rather than of a group, in the sociological sense of that term. Melville J. Herskovits (1942:35) also noted that this attitude "is personal and not institutionalized."

Mario de Andrade (1939), a perceptive man of color and of prestige in São Paulo, called our attention many years ago to a tendency to exaggerate the role of color and thus to confuse discrimination based strictly on color differences with discrimination on the basis of class differences. Referring to "a very curious documentation" presented by "a writer of colored origin" during a public address in São Paulo, Mario de Andrade writes that "in spite of its being very interesting," this documentation "appeared to be little convincing as evidence of color prejudice. . . . It was a documentation of class and not of color." Tavares de Sá (36) also has noted that "a coincidence between social position and the amount of colored blood makes one sometimes take for race prejudice what is merely class prejudice"; and this is the opinion also of Guerreiro Ramos when he writes that the frustrations of men of color in Brazil "are attributed to racial prejudice when, many times, they should be attributed to that of class."[18]

Noting what has impressed many persons, namely, that class in Brazil coincides largely with color, Nestor Duarte (171–72) of Bahia reminds us, however, that "it is more an economic and social than a color criterion that divides brancos, prêtos and mixed-bloods in Brazilian society"; while Felte Bezerra (1956:5[illegible]4) of Aracaju, observing that color and class largely coincide there also, reminds us, nevertheless, that "he who rises in class frees himself from the peril of slights or barriers by reason of color." Bastide also

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[18] Interview in *Diário Trabalhista* (Rio de Janeiro), March 24, 1946.

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neighboring state of Sergipe.[23] Wagley (1963b:152–53) considered as "among the most important" of these generalizations portions of hypotheses 17 and 22, as well as the concluding paragraph, and restated them as follows: 1) "Brazil is a multi-racial class[24] society distinct from India, for example, where the social order is based upon the principle of caste and from those parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority"; 2) "prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice"; 3) "this does not mean that there are no social distinctions in Brazil. . . . Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that blacks or mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (a) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstances, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society, and (b) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community."

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In the Recôncavo area around the city of Bahia, Hutchinson (1957) and Costa Pinto (1958) report a shift under way in the relations between laborer and employer, from the formerly personal and face-to-face relations of the colonial and subsequent periods to those of a more contractual character,

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[23] The statement on p. 134 of this book to the effect that a strictly-drawn color line would have to pass through families also has been noted by many other observers, including Frazier (1944:266) and Nelson de Souza Sampaio (1944) at Bahia; Freyre (1959:8) at Recife; and Willems (1949:407) at São Paulo.

[24] It is perhaps obvious that neither Wagley nor the present author uses the term "class" in the sense popular today in certain circles, wherein the "classes" and the "masses" are distinguished. On the contrary, it seems legitimate to include all persons in the class structure, whatever their rank.

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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and industrialization increases; 121*
a shift which is intensified by the 178
secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan 466
character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new 571 •
social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched BB *
above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" [563]
situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After
a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it
seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with
Wagley:[25] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much." BB

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), however, 121*
the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are 178
increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this
rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration 565
in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of 563*
previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and 571
pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social
order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a
larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more
difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; BB
and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving [315]
from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and
the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on [377]
the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the
presently increasing anonymity and make relations more BB
contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational opportunities [871]
increase and extend downward further into the
masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to
the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia B
may alter, perhaps markedly. BB

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses 121*

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[25] In a letter to the author. 563*

[City of Salvador]

361 162 [311] [177] As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[8]

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

633 571 In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

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[114] [8] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct 633
life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long 571
been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be expected, is also relatively stable. 167 Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement 166 there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability 571 and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In 178 fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. 795 Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a cathedral. [368] Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

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[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. [291] Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-

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795 siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church
[554] exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the
military is high.

596 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patri-
archal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. So-
621 cial cohesion in the community is maintained by the close
association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long
standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater
571 than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable
size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth
576 of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like
157 most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family
and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of
such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and
571 politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the con-
794 venience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affil-
467 iation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were
merely an overgrown village.

578 In this stable society there is a comparative absence of
[477] most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competi-
tion is comparatively slight and limited in considerable
[433] measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely ex-
tractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which
[466] arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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571 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses
178 or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall
at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the
795 exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclama-
tion of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to ob-
291 serve these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments
of the church.

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pendent, lived apart from their masters, and arranged their 175
own employment. They were usually required to pay a stated 567
sum weekly to their owners, after which they might retain for their own use any balance remaining. In Bahia they are reported to have been principally Yorubas, Gêges, and Haussás.

These Negroes were reputedly strong, capable workers. Almost all the Haussás were ardent Mohammedans, who in
Bahia seem to have converted to their faith many Yorubas, B
Gêges, and other Africans. Shrewd and intelligent, they BB
were at times superior in cultural equipment to their masters.
Many were literate, and some are said to have written [212]
Arabic fluently. Often they banded together to mature [571]
schemes of revolt, to buy the freedom of a favorite friend, or to work under a leader for the liberation of all. The order in which they secured their freedom was ordinarily determined by lot, the earliest liberated remaining with the group until the last was purchased, after which they sometimes returned to Africa, paying their passage with what they had earned.[32] BB

It was principally the Haussás who led the numerous 175
slave revolts[33] at Bahia during the early nineteenth century. 567
Although these uprisings were all unsuccessful and ordi- 669

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[32] Daniel P. Kidder and James C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 135. Between 1850 and 1878 from four to six thousand free Negroes from Brazil settled at Lagos and Whydah and a few in Angola (Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* [New York, 1910], p. 98 n.). Repatriated Gêges are said to have founded on the African West Coast a city with the name of a Bahian port, Porto Seguro.

[33] In the Archivo Publico at Bahia are four volumes of police documents covering the revolts of this period. Each volume contains from a thousand to twelve hundred sheets in long hand which, for their age, are fairly well preserved.

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patrols which later, aided by foot soldiers and cavalry and 175
favored by considerable confusion among the widely separated 567
bands of blacks as to the actual hour of attack, scattered 669
and broke up the Negro mobs, but only after a serious struggle.[48] The leaders of the revolt were tried,[49] given two hundred, five hundred, even one thousand lashes, or shot by
a firing squad, or deported to Africa. Further importation 8
of the *batá*, or African war drum, was forbidden. BB

The number and persistence of these slave insurrections 175
may suggest that slavery in Brazil was unusually severe. 567
The reverse seems to be the fact. Insurrectionists were unassimilated 669
free Negroes and semi-independent slaves, morally isolated from the Europeans. Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system obviously existed, and
atrocities occurred here as elsewhere, the slavery involved, 8
as we shall see in detail in chapter iii, was ordinarily a mild BB
form of servitude. In general, slavery in Brazil was characterized 567
by the gradual and continuous growth of intimate, 571
personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character.

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[48] A letter from Bahia published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio on February 10, 1835, and dated January 31, reads: "Business and commerce is completely at a standstill by reason of a Negro uprising which last Sunday suddenly upset public tranquillity in this city. The revolt, which had been planned for a long time, was very serious, but the armed forces managed to put it down."

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[49] The police records deposited in the Archivo Publico at Bahia list 234 [217]
Negroes who, subsequent to the uprising, were brought to trial by the authorities. Among these, 165 are listed as Nagôs, 21 as Haussás, 6 as Gêges, and 6 as Tapas. Documents found in their possession, facsimiles of which may be seen in the above depository, were written in Arabic characters. See also the novel by Pedro Calmon, *Os Malês, a insurreição das senzalas* (Rio, 1933).

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equaled in size or in importance the famed Palmares of Alagoas.[62]

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It is a mistake, however, to conclude that humane and intimate relations between master and slave were by any means rare. In fact, they were in all likelihood, as we shall see in detail later, the general rule. The literature records numerous instances like that witnessed by John Codman in 1866, of which he says:

> We drove up to the door of our Brazilian passengers. They were most boisterously welcomed by a troop of blacks. The pleasantest thing I had seen for some hours was the affection of these poor Negroes. Bright shone their eyes, and what a display was there of ivory! They fairly seized their mistress . . . . in their arms, and "toted" her off into the house, hugging and kissing her, screaming and dancing as they went.[63]

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[62] The famous "Negroes of the Palmares" (or "Palm Forests") were slaves who had escaped from Pernambuco before and particularly during the struggles of the Portuguese with the Dutch. Constantly acquiring recruits, they set up a series of crudely fortified villages scattered over some sixty leagues (about two hundred and forty miles). From these they harried the neighboring regions, taking from outlying *fazendas* both mates and slaves, among the former of which white women were occasionally to be found. They became so strong and so difficult to dislodge, that numerous expeditions sent out by the Dutch and later by the Portuguese served only to check for a time their growth—were unable for seventy years to destroy them completely. Only in 1697 were they finally subdued by an army from Recife led by a Paulista famed for success in such fighting and especially imported for this service, and then only after he had at first encountered serious reversals at their hands and their resistance had subsequently been broken by a failure of the food supply (Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 23-29). This Negro group had at times carried on trade with the whites, exchanging agricultural products for articles of manufacture. That they were seriously treated as an alien but respected group is attested by an exchange of peace commissioners during the governorship of Ayres Souza e Castro and the subsequent signing of a treaty of peace. (Incidentally, this treaty was never kept by the whites.) For a critical examination of the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled "Negro Republic" see Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-43.

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[63] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances 796
still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such 535
an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white 571
citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images 177
employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa,
and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia. 175

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had 778
been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. 794
Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a 178
slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received 175
allegiance and great reverence from them. On a 554
chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are
told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing 567
requested of them." Even their masters were reported
to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, 175
especially the house servants, soon became, by the very 191
necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. 567
And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children 177
of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary
and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus,
about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

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[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *buzios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38). [541)

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. . . . is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . . quite forgotten."[17] With the acquisition of the master's language went quite naturally other European habits and customs, and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*, grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

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Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize the institution and to modify its formal and legal character to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton, enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in it."[18]

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Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal relations is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of the humor of the situation by the able French artist Debret.[19] The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

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[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[18] Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 270.

[19] Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[20] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

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> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeosie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[21]

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In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[22] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[23] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[24] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

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[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[21] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[22] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821-1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

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[23] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

[24] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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369 seated on the floor at the feet of their mistress and her
567 daughter, while two little Negro babies play near by.[25] Koster
• 571 wrote of an estate near Recife that the "Great House"
was full of young Negro children. "They were quite naked,
and played with each other, and with some large dogs which
were lying at full length upon the floor. These ebon cupids
were plainly great favorites, and seemed to employ the
greater part of the thoughts of the good ladies, the youngest
EB of whom was on the other side of fifty; and even the priest
175 laughed at their gambols."[26] Visiting in the interior of Rio
567 de Janeiro province in 1823, Maria Graham noted that "the
571 female in-door slaves . . . . have been mostly . . . . brought
up in their mistress' house." She saw "children of all ages
and colors running about, who seemed to be as tenderly
treated as if they had been of the family," and commented
that, under these conditions, slavery was "more like that
of the patriarchal times, where the purchased servant became
to all intents one of the family."[27] "How many times,"
writes Lacerda, "have we not seen masters who did not hesitate
EB to bring their little mulatto slaves to the family
[853] table?"[28] Relations within these households became so intimate
B that, as sometimes also occurred in our South, white
BB women took to their breasts colored babies whose mothers
567 had died in childbirth.[29]

571 In the home, on the plantation, along the roads of the

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175 [25] Debret writes (*ibid.*, p. 39): "A Rio de Janeiro et dans toutes les autres villes du Brésil, il est d'usage, pendant le tête-à-tête d'un *diner marital*, que le mari s'occupe silencieusement de ses affaires, et que la *femme* s'amuse de ses *petits* négrillons, qui remplacent la famille presque éteinte des petits chiens carlins en Europe."

[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 258–59.

[27] *Op. cit.*, pp. 279–80.

[28] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds, of Brazil," *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[29] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 327.

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rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company. And since human beings, wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradually to break down the formal barriers between the races and to modify the nature of slavery.

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It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan conception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." Thus

> there is no more commendable action in Mohammedan morals than to free slaves, and such enfranchisement is enjoined by the Prophet especially as an atonement for an undeserved blow or other injustice. In Andalusia, the slaves upon the estates that had passed . . . . into the possession of Moslems were almost in the position of small farmers; their Mohammedan masters, whose trade was war, and who despised heartily such menial occupations as tilling the soil, left them free to cultivate the land as they pleased, and only insisted on a fair return of products.[19]

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[19] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), p. 48. Cf. also: "The Mohammedan slave was rarely

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Mild though its original form may have been, slavery in Brazil was not, as we have already seen, without at least occasional evidences of brutality. The fact is that slavery in Brazil was *both* mild *and* severe. But as an institution continuing over centuries it became more and more mild. Cases of brutality ordinarily occurred under conditions of absentee ownership or in fear of slave insurrection, or arose in dealing with recalcitrant and unsubjected individuals, many of them at the hands of mixed-blood or Negro overseers who in this way unconsciously compensated for otherwise limited social effectiveness.[21] Moreover, the relatively few cases which did occur were so ably used by such prominent political and intellectual leaders as Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco that they have probably left behind in the Brazilian mind of today an exaggerated notion of the cruelties of slavery. The important point to note is that, under circumstances of intimate, personal contact, the institution of slavery, with its occasional cases of harsh treatment, gradually lost its character as a political, and assumed that of a patriarchal and familial, institution.

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Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil

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abused. . . . . His acceptance of the faith of Islam rendered his manumission easy. No stigma attached to his (subsequent) condition" (S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* [Philadelphia, 1[illegible], p. 660.

[21] Koster, reflecting over the fact that mulattoes, especially those who had formerly been slaves, "make bad masters," concluded that "the change of situation would lead to the same consequences in any race of human beings" (*op. cit.*, II, 177–78).

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The opportunities in Brazil
for these relations to develop, particularly in the case of 567
domestic servants, were extensive. Cooper states a fact long 571 ●
characteristic of the upper classes in Brazil when he says: 357
"As in the East, the houses are . . . . filled with . . . . serv- 175
ants, and these servants partake of the character of their
Eastern prototypes in their . . . . willingness to perform the
many small and menial acts of personal service which the B
Brazilian requires, but which would hardly be expected of BB
servants in the United States."[32]

Symbolic of the intimate nature of these relations was the 567
common form of etiquette which grew up and became cus- 571
tomary between Brazilian master and slave. It is said to 576
have been a practice observed in all well-regulated families 175
that slaves, "of both sexes and of every age," requested each morning and evening a blessing from their master. According to Stewart, the words used in the middle of the nineteenth century were, "I beseech your blessing [or "Grant me a blessing"], in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!" To which the master replied, "Jesus Christ bless you forever!"[33] As João Ribeiro has aptly said, "Agrupavam-se em famílias, senão no sentido da lei, ao menos da religião."[34]

Debret, who spent several months at Rio in the early part of the same century, says[35] that it was there customary for

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[32] Clayton S. Cooper, *The Brazilians and Their Country* (New York, 1917), pp. 61-62. Cf. also Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V, No. 4 (November, 1922), 607.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

[34] "They were united into families, if not by law, at least by religion."

[35] *Op. cit.*, III, 130. Cf. also the account of Maria Graham regarding a *fazenda* in the province of Rio de Janeiro: "I attended the weekly muster of all the Negroes of the *fazenda;* clean shirts and trousers were given to the

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567 slaves, on repeating the evening Ave Maria, to present
571 themselves before the master with a "Boa noite, meu senhor,"[36]
576 in reply to which, as a sign of approbation, the master
175 made a simple movement of the head. It was also customary for a Negro who by chance met a white acquaintance on a public thoroughfare to bow his head, extend his right hand, half-opened, and to request a blessing, to which the
B white replied, "Deus te faça santo,"[37] or simply "Viva!"

BB These forms of etiquette, together with their religious
[171] implications, although they became in time highly conventionalized and occasionally were reduced to "the shortest possible abbreviation" and repeated with "all manner of intonations of voice and every mood of humor,"[38] still symbolized the recognition on the part of the master of a common human bond with his slaves. "I can call to mind," writes
B Codman, "many touching incidents of the kind feelings of
BB masters and servants towards each other."[39]

175 Relationships of this character were undoubtedly ad-
571 vantageous to the Negro, not only during his period of sub-
567 jection as a slave but also after his enfranchisement. Koster says of Brazilian neighbors in Pernambuco who possessed a considerable number of slaves:

> These excellent women and the good priest [intend] eventually to emancipate all of them; and that they may be prepared for the change, several of the men have been brought up as mechanics of different

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men, and shifts and shirts to the women, of very coarse white cotton. Each, as he or she came in, kissed a hand, and then bowed to Mr. P. saying either, 'Father, give me blessing,' or 'The names of Jesus and Mary be praised!' and were answered accordingly, either 'Bless you,' or 'Be they praised!' This is the custom in old establishments: it is repeated morning and evening, and seems to acknowledge a kind of relationship between master and slave" (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

[36] "Good night, my master."

[37] "God make thee a saint."

[38] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[39] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 201.

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> descriptions; and the women have been taught needle-work, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.[39]

In 1822 an observer in Rio noted:

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> When the Emperor had received the public bodies, he came and led the Empress into the great receiving room, and there, both of them standing on the upper step of the throne, had their hands kissed by naval, military and civil officers, and private citizens. . . . . It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some Negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their pouting African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Imperador* (Our Emperor), and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them, a bond of kindness *to* them.[40]

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"There is evidently," commented another visitor, "a sincere wish to make the liberated slave a useful citizen, if possible."[41]

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

> He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . . .[42]

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[39] *Op. cit.*, I, 258: "The owners said that all their own immediate relations were rich; . . . . and that therefore these their children had no right to work for any one else."

[40] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[41] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[42] *Op. cit.*, pp. 271–72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 192–94) says that, although

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The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"[71] which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."[72]

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It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.[73] But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

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[71] "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. , . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

[72] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[73] Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

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cumstances they gradually lost their African customs and traditions and took over more and more European ideas, attitudes, and points of view.

This loyalty and devotion, as well as even deeds of heroism, on the part of Negro slaves quite naturally evoked corresponding sentiments of appreciation and affection in masters and their children. Mrs. Louis Agassiz, visiting, together with her husband, the Academy of Fine Arts in Rio in 1865, noted with particular interest the portrait of a Negro

> who, in a shipwreck off the coast, had saved a number of lives at the risk of his own. When he had brought several passengers to the shore, he was told that two children still remained in the ship. He swam back once more and brought them safely to the beach, but then sank down exhausted, and was seized with a hemorrhage. A considerable sum was raised for him in the city of Rio, and his picture was placed in the Academy to commemorate his heroism.[74]

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There hangs today in the Pinacotheca at Bahia a famous painting of the *mãe preta*, or "black mother." "We children," recently remarked a prominent Bahian banker, "respected our *mãe preta* as much as, or perhaps even more than, we did our own parents. I'm sure we feared her more and obeyed her more readily."

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Henrique Dias, a Pernambucan slave, materially and somewhat spectacularly aided the Portuguese when they were engaged, during the seventeenth century, in driving the Dutch out of Pernambuco. Captured, he was shortly released, the Dutch thinking that "because he was a Negro slave he wasn't worth the cost of feeding." He returned to fight effectively for the Portuguese and was once wounded in battle. Following the expulsion of the Dutch, he was given many honors, commissioned in the local militia, and put in

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[74] Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 478.

At the same time, *meu negro* ("my Negro"), with its varia- 563*
tion *meu nego*[36] and diminutive *meu negrinho*, all spoken in 192
soft tones, are terms of endearment used even by whites in [832]
speaking to other whites, especially in cases of great inti-
macy as, for instance, between lovers. Their use constitutes, [576]
as a Bahian put it, "um modo de tratar bem" ("a way of
being nice"). Occasionally one hears these expressions on [571] •
the lips of a beggar asking alms of a white and, if he appears
well to do, of a mulatto as well. Clerks sometimes employ
them in addressing a customer. They appear to call up tender memories of intimate, personal relations like those existent, for example, between Mammy and Scarlett O'Hara in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

The term *branco da Bahia* ("Bahian white") is also heard, 563*
although it is ordinarily employed *outside* Bahia. It has ref- 192
erence to the local custom of including many light mixed- 826
bloods in the *branco* category. The phrase *branco por procuração* ("white by proxy") is occasionally used in Bahia but never when speaking to such an individual directly or in his presence. Light mixed-bloods are sometimes referred to as *bem areiadas* ("well sandpapered"); very dark young Negro boys as *pregos* ("nails"); very dark blacks as *pretos retintos* (literally "black blacks," or "black as coal"), and *reclames do pixe* (literally "shouts of tar," i.e., "black as pitch"). The phrase *ele tem genipapo* refers to the possession of *manchas*, as previously noted. Of a person who shows slight traces of Negro ancestry, it is said, "Ele tem dedo na cozinha" ("He has a finger in the kitchen"). Additional descriptive words or phrases include: *de côr escura* ("of dark color"), *de côr*

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[36] The feminine forms are *minha negra*, *minha nega*, and *minha negrinha*. [193]

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*563 of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived.[11]

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He
came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for
his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal
B charm but also for his intelligence and professional com-
BB petence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a
recent president of Brazil.

*563 Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is con-
555 cerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the
565 return of young professional men who had been trained in
571 Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—
175 enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes.
These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a
[463] number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil
after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better
B informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-
BB brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the
[177] clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the
upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

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[11] From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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The increasing prestige of youth, accelerated by the popular rule of young King Dom Pedro II, together with the increasing dominance of the cities in which the young graduates located, also contributed to their rise in social esteem.

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The disruption of the old order based upon slavery, owing to the loss of the sugar monopoly, the increasing dependence of rural *senhores* on their urban agents and commission merchants, and the progress of the abolition campaign, eventually leading as it did to widespread desertion of slaves from the *engenhos*, also facilitated the rise of the professional classes. There was under way a gradual transfer of prestige from the rural aristocracy,[22] which had been almost exclusively European, to the urban intelligentsia, which increasingly included mulattoes, particularly of the lighter shades; for example, Gonçalves Dias, Natividade Saldanha, José do Patrocinio, Machado de Assis, Barão de Cotegipe, Olavo Bilac, Domingos Caldas Barbosa, Salles Torres Homem, Nilo Peçanha, Domicio da Gama, Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta, Dom Luiz Raymundo da Silva Brito, Tobias Barretto, Antonio Vieira, José Mauricio, Auta de Souza, Francisco Gé Acabaya de Montezuma, the Rebouças brothers, and "hundreds of other Brazilians," as João Dornas Filho says, "whose great mental capacity has brought resounding fame to Brazil."[23]

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Dom Pedro II elevated to the nobility a prominent mixed-blood who was subsequently known familiarly as "Barão do Chocolate."[24] The Count do Gobineau speaks of meeting

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[22] For a sketch of the rise of the Brazilian aristocracy see Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI, No. 2 (May, 1931), 145-68.

[23] *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939), p. 228.

[24] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 190.

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The Count do Grobineau speaks of meeting three mulatto ladies-in-waiting to the Brazilian empress, one "marron," one "chocolat eclair," one "violette."[25] Montezuma became a viscount and sat in the national senate, as did also Salles Torres Homem. The best elements of the aristocracy attended the receptions for the noted engineer, Andre Rebouças.[26] His brother Antonio, a federal deputy, on requesting a representative on the crown council for the *população mulata* was heard attentively by the *camara*.[27] Domicio da Gama and the Barão de Cotegipe were long prominent in political and diplomatic circles. Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta became an archbishop. No musician is said to have been more distinguished at court than the mixed-blood, José Mauricio. Domingos Caldas Barbosa, the son of a Negro woman from Angola, acquired considerable fame in the salons of Rio de Janiero and of Lisbon as a singer of popular songs. The eighteenth-century sculpture of Antonio Francisco Lisboa, better known as Aleijadinho, which may still be seen today in the old churches of Ouro Preto, Sabará, São João d'El Rei, and other cities of Minas Geraes, attracted much favorable comment. José Basilio da Gama, whose *Uruguay* is said to be the best epic poem of the colonial period, the writer, Machado de Assis, and the lyric poet, Antonio Gonçalves Dias, were universally accorded high rank in Brazilian letters. Tobias Barretto was honored as a poet but even more as a jurist and annotator of German philosophical works which he had translated. José de Natividade Saldanha, an able poet, was one of the leaders of the revolt in Recife in 1824.

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[25] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 354.

[26] Visconde de Taunay, *Homens e cousas do imperio* (São Paulo, 1924), p. 145, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 112.

[27] Antonio Pereira Rebouças, *Recordações da vida parlamentar* (2 vols.; Rio, 1870), I, 524, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 113.

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José do Patrocinio became an able editor and wielded a powerful influence in the abolition movement. Joaquim Manoel was a violinist of considerable talent. A number of Francisco Braga's musical compositions achieved acclaim, and he was later invited to teach composition in the National Institute of Music. The Bahian mulatto, Francisco Chagas, better known as "Cabra," carved images with such skill that at least five of them ("Nossa Senhora do Carmo," "São Benedito," "São João e Magdalena," "Nossa Senhora dos Dores," and "Senhor da Redempção") may still be seen in the Igreja do Carmo. Valentim da Fonseca e Silva, popularly known as "Master Valentim," achieved fame as a skilled worker in gold and silver. The mulatto, Jesus, was a notable figure in an influential school of painting which flourished in Bahia in the eighteenth century. Crispim do Amaral, better known by his pseudonym "Falstaff," and Pedro Americo were accepted as among the most competent Brazilian painters of the nineteenth century. Antonio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa, Laurindo Rabello, and Gonçalves Crespo, all won acclaim in the Brazilian world of letters, and at least the latter of these three in the Portuguese world of letters as well. The psychiatrist, Juliano Moreira, became director-general of the hospital for the insane in Rio de Janeiro and was elected an honorary professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Bahia. The name of the Hospital João de Deus in Bahia was, in 1936, changed in honor of him to the Hospital Juliano Moreira. Theodoro Sampaio became widely known and respected throughout Brazil as an able engineer, intellectual figure, and linguistic scholar. José Ferreira de Menezes, Monteiro Lopes, Cardoso Vieira, Eliseu Cesar, Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, and (in more recent times) the Bahian brothers, João and Octavio Manga-

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463 beira, have all been influential politicians with national repu-
*563 tations. Luiz Gama, mulatto journalist and lawyer, born a
slave in Bahia, became exceedingly popular not only in São
571 Paulo, where he came to reside, but throughout Brazil. At
least one president of the Republic, Nilo Pecanha, had Afri-
b can ancestors.[28]

643 It is said the royal family set the example of social accept-
644 ance of the darker Brazilians and gently rebuked those
*563 whites inclined to be hesitant in the matter. Dom João VI,
in his audiences at São Cristovão, cordially received men of
175 all stations, and the two Pedros (Dom Pedro I and Dom
Pedro II) continued the tradition. Once, at a court ball,
Princess Isabel, noting that a lady had declined to dance
with André Rebouças, herself offered to dance the subse-
B quent waltz with him, "to compensate for the affront to this
BB illustrious man."[29]

175 The range of acceptance was at that time broadening.
178 Formerly only the exceptionally able mixed-bloods, or those
*563 most similar to the Europeans in color, had been incorpo-
rated into the upper circles. But "the prestige of the title
'doutor' began to overcome much of the prejudice which had
been so active and apparently so invincible during three pre-
vious centuries."[30] Similarly, an army uniform, "especially

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[28] For information in some detail on prominent Brazilian mixed-bloods see Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), *passim*.

[29] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 114. Affonso de E. Taunay (in a letter to the author) reports the incident thus: "At a court ball the Princess Isabel, Countess of Eu and heir to the throne of Brazil, insisted on dancing with André Rebouças, a mulatto who was almost black (albeit a man of great mental and moral worth), in order to censure the attitude of certain ladies of the court who had objected to him as a dancing partner."

[30] Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 145.

the present social order at Bahia results, as it probably does 563*
in a free class society anywhere, from the tendency of the 565
more advantaged and the more able to rise to, or to maintain themselves at, the top. Since the Africans began in Brazil at the bottom, the present distribution of color through the class scale obviously indicates the extent to which the Negroes (either pure or diluted) have been able to survive and to rise in competition with the Europeans and their descendants, who in the main began at the top. The present distribution is therefore that probably to be expected, even in a freely competitive society, given the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving freedom, the consequently limited opportunities for economic advancement, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status.

One might also note that racial distribution in the occupa- 563*
tions and with reference to economic status is not greatly 171
dissimilar at Bahia to that in the United States. In other 463
words, the Negro, either pure or mixed with the white, has slowly but steadily advanced both in Brazil and in this country, until today he is represented there and here in all the professions and in many, if not most, of the occupations. Even the relative numbers in the different levels of the occupational and economic scales are somewhat similar in the two cases.

The differences, however, are profound. Whereas in the 563*
United States the rise of the Negro and of the mixed-blood 571●
has been principally within the limits of the Negro world, in 171
Brazil the rise has been with reference to the total community; that is, the Negro in Bahia not only competes freely with all others of his own color but can and does compete with all aspirants to the same class; and, if he has ability and

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gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

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One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

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Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of 563 *
distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citi- 571
zen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, 575
once federal senator, president of an important intellectual 463
and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi lan- 554
guage. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Stu- 563 *
dents, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. 871
The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the 563 *
blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which 872
are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation 563 *
Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools par- 872
ticipated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uni- 527
form. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray 292
suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

* 563 795 (571) Bahia, tend to implement and to support the Brazilian racial policy. For the Catholic church, by emphasizing ritual, centers attention ***outside the individual*** upon common objects; while the Protestant churches, by emphasizing belief, center attention ***upon the individual***, thus tending to increase self-consciousness and, consequently, awareness of difference which, in so far as the self and its distinguishing characteristics are identified with a group, automatically increases ***group***-consciousness.

795 571 The Catholic conceptions tend to lay emphasis upon the community, upon the totality of individuals. For it is through his participation in the community that the individual in the Catholic view gains recognition as a person. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, tend to emphasize the individual. It is by reason of his inherent worth that the community in which he participates gains meaning in the Protestant ideology.

The Catholic procedure thus tends to unify the community, while the Protestant procedure tends to divide it into separate groups, each of which emphasizes its points of difference with all the others and tends to be divisive in its attitude toward the others. Obviously, a sect (which is by its very nature a conflict group) can in no other way live. The Catholic procedure lays a premium upon solidarity, while the Protestant lays a premium upon diversity.

* 563 857 Indicative of race relations among the younger generation at Bahia is the behavior of three groups of children who were observed playing together in Campo Grande. Aged approximately four to fifteen years, they were hilariously enjoying themselves. When first noted, there were at the "giant stride" 4 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 2 whites. At the teeter-totter were 1 black, 9 mulattoes, and 15 whites. At

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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of 693
practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most 563 *
influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and 574
poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 571
medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian 563 *
Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 814
mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the 563 *
exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social 565
élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the 535
event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our 575
best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of 571
elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro
origin. The only blacks present were the members of the [533]
jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) [357]
and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or- 563 *
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•571 ganization which numbers about 345[24] of the city's intellectual
élite, is a dark mixed-blood, the able engineer and
575 Tupi scholar previously mentioned. The secretary of the organization
is white, but during his absence on federal appointment
in Rio the assistant secretary, a dark mulatto
educator, discharges the secretarial duties. Of the 30 officers
and committeemen of this institution, 24 are whites, 2 are
brancos da Bahia, and 4 are mulattoes. Among the whites
* are several scions of the old aristocracy.

563 At a dinner of the Rotary Club, which numbers among its
574 members some of the city's most prominent businessmen, 42
575 whites, 5 *brancos da Bahia*, and 1 very light mulatto (a visitor)
were present. The guest speaker was white. Of 55 members,
47 are whites, 6 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 are very
* light mulattoes.

563 Of 28 citizens assuming prominent roles in a community
575 organization designed to erect a mausoleum to Castro Alves,
15 were whites, 5 were *brancos da Bahia*, 7 were light mulattoes,
* 2 were dark mulattoes, and 1 was a black, the latter an
563 able engineer and local historian. At a public meeting in
544 honor of Castro Alves, the speaker was a white politician
with a national reputation, an able man of letters, and scion
of the old aristocracy. Of 200 individuals in the audience,
only 18 were colored (15 mulattoes, mostly very light mixed-bloods,
* and 3 blacks).

563 At a recital given by a noted Brazilian pianist, where
545 there were present, according to a newspaper account, "the
most select of Bahia's artistic and social circles,"[25] the audience
was composed of 116 whites, 14 mulattoes, predominantly
light, and 2 blacks.

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[24] According to the secretary of the organization.

[25] *Estado da Bahia*, January 22, 1937.

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*563 been persistently characteristic of Brazilian society. Out of
829 the traditional behavior which developed in response to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life emerged an informal racial policy, or racial ideology, which has served as a philosophy underlying and giving consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and individuals seek to rationalize and defend their customary conduct. A Bahian school girl of white parentage put this informal policy into words when she remarked: "Race mix-
BB ture is an inevitable thing. We Brazilians are becoming one
* single people."

563 Thus in Bahia the black and the white do not stand over
829 against each other as irreducible ethnic groups, differing not only in appearance, which is obvious, but also in kind, and fated ever to remain separate and distinct. Such inferiority as at present exists is not thought of as racial and permanent but rather as cultural and temporary, and already well on the way to extinction. Every citizen is considered first of all a Brazilian, and every Brazilian takes
BB pride in all other nationals, irrespective of racial origin. Dis-
• [571] tinctions are secondary. In this connection one ought perhaps to point out that the widespread web of personal relationships in Bahia tends to make a man or woman not so
BB much a member of a category (e.g., a Negro or a mulatto) as an individual (João or Maria).

*563 Even for individuals beyond the range of intimate per-
192 sonal relationships racial terms are seldom used in Bahia.
578 To call a colored man in his hearing a "Negro" or a "mulatto" is not "good form." These terms are used to a man's face only when one is enraged or otherwise desirous of giving offense. It is, as we have noted, like calling an Italian immigrant a "Wop" or a Mexican a "Greaser." These terms em-

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hian descendants of Europeans, whether or not they are aware of the fact, has been an eminently successful policy.

This change is not difficult to understand. The children and grandchildren of the *Africanos* are in more direct contact with the schools and other instrumentalities of European cultural diffusion. To a considerable extent they are being weaned away from the beliefs and practices of their ancestors. In most cases they have now come to take toward their parents and grandparents the same attitudes which the European community takes toward them. Gradually, the behavior of these children and grandchildren is developing in the *Africanos* themselves an increasingly acute sense of cultural inferiority.

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At the same time *Africanos* resent every evidence of another *Africano* breaking with the traditions of his ancestors and thus tending, even unwittingly, to undermine the solidarity of the group. Especially do they resent someone's currying favor with Europeans. As one man put it, "If I see an *Africano* talking to one of these whites, I won't look at the white man but I'll look the black fellow all over, this way [giving facial expression to indicate contempt, disdain], and after I'm down the street a ways I'll do this [sharply clearing his throat and spitting]." A white man was walking one day in Caminho da Cruz da Redenção in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) in company with two *Africanos*, an elderly *feiticeiro* ("witch doctor") and his son. A black suddenly shoved his head out of the window of a hut which they were passing and shouted, "Such Negroes! Worthless trash! Walking around with a white man!"

At first sight, one is likely to assume that these outbursts, reflecting as they obviously do antagonistic attitudes toward

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the whites, are evidences of race prejudice. The fact, however, that outside the *Africano* group, among the more or less assimilated blacks, these antagonistic attitudes tend to disappear, indicates that what we see reflected here is a cultural, and not necessarily a racial, conflict. Antagonism is directed not at the whites as such but at *Europeans;* it is directed at the bearers of a culture, a body of ideas, attitudes, and sentiments, in conflict with the ideas, attitudes, and sentiments of the *Africanos*.

night was falling, he, all covered with sores and bruises, began to approach his father's house. 539 177

But his father, who saw the traveler coming a long way off, did not recognize him and consequently did not go out to meet him. Xapanã's mother, however, knew her son and in pity at his misfortune, begged and pleaded with her husband to have compassion for him and to receive him like the legitimate son he was.

But the old man turned to her and said:

"This fellow is not my son, because I never had a son who was full of sores."

But, at last, due to the continued pleadings of his wife, the ancient one inquired of the traveler what his name was. Xapanã replied:

"I am called Lazarus."

"Who is Lazarus?" asked the father.

Then Xapanã said: "I am he whom God permitted to use this name."

But the old man persisted in knowing the reason why, if he was Xapanã, he was using the name of Lazarus.

The son turned to his father and replied very quietly:

"I am Xapanã, the lord over pestilence throughout the whole world." And he sang in Queito:

"I say "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
I call out "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
Tôtô."

The old man Omolú then replied:

"Ojé badô
Dó lá."

And the young man sang:

"Ojé di apá."

In this way the two came to know each other, and Xapanã "the Elder" recognized Xapanã "the Younger."

A few whites, even from the upper classes, visit the *pae de santo* to obtain advice on business, politics, and other matters or aid in the cure and prevention of disease. Numerous 571 793 ooo

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565 percentage of each racial stock in each occupational class will indicate the occupational status of the different racial elements. And since the group with superior status will have proportionately larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the groups with inferior status will have larger numbers in the lower brackets, one may describe a racial situation statistically. Thus, on the basis of a sample census recently taken, the relation to the class structure of the respective ethnic elements in the population at Bahia may be described as shown in Table 16.

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TABLE 16

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE CLASSES AT BAHIA, 1936

ETHNIC GROUPS	INTELLIGENTSIA		MARGINAL		LOWER CLASS	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Blacks	5	0.4	23	5.1	1,245	75.2
Mixed-bloods	222	15.7	255	56.3	386	23.3
Whites	1,183	83.9	175	38.6	25	1.5
Total	1,410	100.0	453	100.0	1,656	100.0

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One might indicate graphically the vocational distribution of the various ethnic elements at Bahia by a series of pyramids, as illustrated on the facing page.

If now one were able to obtain statistics showing the extent of intermarriage between, on the one hand, members of the different racial stocks in the same occupational class and, on the other hand, between the different classes in the same racial stock, these facts should provide an accurate statistical description of what the racial situation actually is. If one finds that, as in the United States, marriages between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 340]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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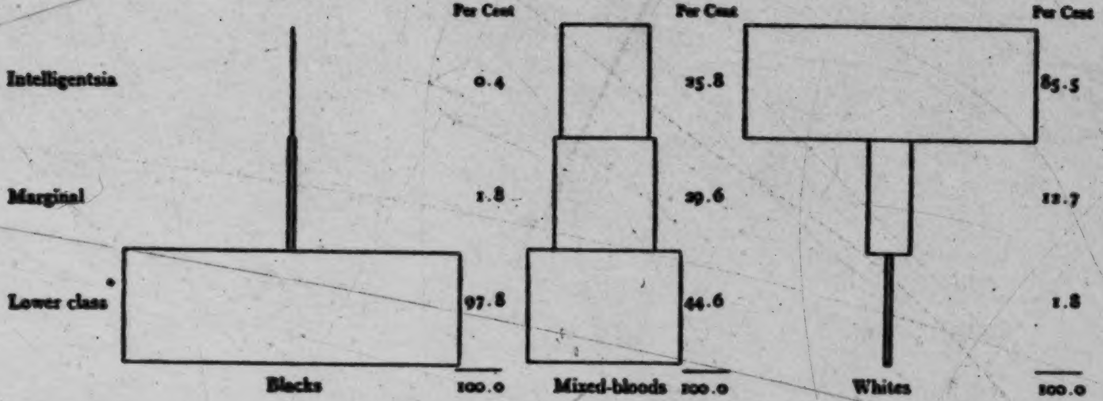
[P. 339]

CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF THE RACES, BAHIA, 1936



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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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literary purposes like the Club 15 de Novembro, Club 13 de 575
Maio, Gremio Dramatus e Recreativo Kosmos, and the Gre- [175]
mio União da Mocidade; of the Negro women's organization, [204]
Centro Civico Palmares; and, in 1931, of the Frente Negra
Brasileira[15] ("Brazilian Negro Front") with the aim of
"bringing together the Negroes of all Brazil," clearly indi-
cates at least some race consciousness on the part of the
Negroes of São Paulo and consequently reflects feelings of
exclusion and discrimination; as also do the subsequently
organized Associação dos Brasileiros de Côr in Santos and
the Frente Negra Pelotense in Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul.[16] BB

However, these indications of a measure of race con- 563 *
sciousness are probably exceptions to the general Brazilian 575
cultural pattern and not typical of it. Organizers for the EB
Frente Negra do Brasil, after several weeks of fruitless ef- [575]
fort, gave up an attempt to organize a chapter at Bahia. BB
The fact that noted intellectuals band together to resist atti- 571 •
tudes prejudicial to racial minorities is in itself an evidence 563*
of the racial ideology which we have noted. That these in-
tellectuals are not atypical persons is attested by the general
tenor of the spontaneous utterances, as well as formal re- EB
marks, of numerous Brazilians. It may be that Bahia, by 563
reason of long being a passive cultural area in comparison BB
to the more active cultural areas of the South, is more char- 563*
acteristically representative of the original Brazilian mores
than São Paulo and certain other southern zones. But even EB
in São Paulo the journals referred to above have one by one [204]
suspended publication, a fact which would seem to indicate

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[15] With the advent of the new regime in November, 1937, the political activities of the Frente Negra Brasileira were suppressed. Its social and educational program, however, was continued and the name changed to União Negra Brasileira.

[16] See Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), pp. 168–74.

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been breaking down, particularly along the biological borders of the races, and, with the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group, this tendency is evidently increasing. Although color and negroid features are still symbolic of slave origin, still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these physical marks lose their restraining character in proportion to the degree white intermixture increases or --what is even more important—in proportion to the degree their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of other qualities of a status-enhancing character in a given individual.

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6. In general, slavery in Brazil, as also in the United States, was characterized by the continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended gradually to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character. The Brazilian moral order became organized, to a considerable extent, on a familial and personal basis.

7. The custom of manumission became firmly intrenched in the Brazilian mores, constituting, under certain circumstances, universally expected behavior. Brazilian Negroes were thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of those intimate personal ties already built up.

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8. Emancipation sentiment in Brazil never suffered from a wave of fear like that which swept our South after the Negro uprising in Haiti and the disorders attendant on the subsequent annihilation of the Haitian whites.

9. Abolition sentiment and agitation was not limited to any one section of Brazil but, on the contrary, penetrated every community, even that of Bahia, where the institution

[SALVADOR]

/20 cont./

829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

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Population Increase and Crossbreeding

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162 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost 20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
● 571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
[576 mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1).
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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

[SALVADOR]

/30 cont./

829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard
themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist,
darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme
poverty in which he lived during his childhood did not permit
him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color
says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type;
no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among
white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established
between them and their companions at school and play,
without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very
dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made
at school with finos Whites. Even among the adults there are some
who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
[115] instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation,
because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his
difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries
of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in overcoming
829 the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/
very black university student. Sometimes when he had been
treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But
I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too
am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see
that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt
there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is
never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer,
and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude";
one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very
competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to
plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant
of a white lawyer.

[SALVADOR]

/31 cont./
829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no
regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense
reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly
marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition.
It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term
by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color
of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing
his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am
a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in
• 571 order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
*563 they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who
attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about
their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
[562] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general.
[565] A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems
do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even
among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons
to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black
has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the
men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking
the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless,
when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of
behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus
I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one
of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like
most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is
compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his
/32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where
he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where
he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 *563 156 On the whole, the Blacks speak with calmness, and, even when they are very reserved toward the investigator, they show a certain psychological assurance and a good adjustment to the conditions of life in Bahia. Here, too, there are obviously exceptions: one man practicing a liberal profession and who is thought to have had worries because of his color, proves reticent and even reserved. "He feels inferior because of the fact that he is black," other Blacks say: "for this reason he frequently causes trouble." The informants state that there are mulattoes who, wishing to conceal their origin, avoid appearing in the company of their own parents of black color. One young man practicing a liberal [593] profession, highly esteemed, is covered with praise because he does not have such prejudices: although married to a White, he goes everywhere with his mother, a Black of the most beautiful black, and introduces her to all his friends. On the other hand, another man of the same milieu and the same "quality" is criticized, because, according to some, "he does not wish to be black and for that reason he hides his old mother." Another Black is regarded as full of prejudice and as a racist, "because he prefers to go around with the Whites and he likes to appear in public with women whiter of complexion than of reputation." Some of his colleagues of the same profession and the same social rank regard him as one "repressed," one who is ashamed of being black. "And," it is added, "there are many like him, who, if they could, would be white!"

829 *563 576 There is no doubt but that certain Whites, including light and dark mulattoes, treat the Blacks and colored persons of humble social class with a certain air of superiority. They do so more rarely with individuals of the same rank as they. To say to someone's face that he is inferior because of his color would be a serious offense, according to the etiquette that governs the relations between individuals of different types in Bahia. A moreno educator, ● [571] native of a northern State, says that during the nine years that he lived in Bahia he was able to observe this mutual respect between persons of different "qualities," provided they were of the same social rank, while in his State colored people are treated with contempt.

[SALVADOR]

/34 cont./
*563 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the
565 boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit
restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate
*563 in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The newspapers
565 and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring
204 of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes
received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a
565 White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
[564] families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

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1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best
565 society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and
•571 the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers
[204] even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 571 The Whites hope that colored people, especially the darkest ones, will be moderate in their attitude, behave modestly, and, in spite of their personal merits, maintain a certain distance, and colored people are not by any means unaware of this. A mulatto of liberal profession says, for example, that he goes only where his presence is necessary. "Often," says a Black, "the Black does not come up against barriers because, knowing the prejudices of the Whites, he does not go in certain places." Another Black, of liberal profession, thinks that colored people, in order to be able to elevate themselves in the social hierarchy, "must avoid doing certain things." Some of these "things," according to numerous informants, are aggressive attitudes, pretentious and affected manners, immoderate, ludicrous gestures." One individual, practicing a liberal profession, would be better received, for example, if he were not so aggressive and so conspicuous. He prizes being seated among the leaders of associations at the meetings he attends, and he always wants to appear in the photographs. On the occasion of a tribute rendered to a famous visitor, he took his place, before /36/ the session began, at the table of the presidency, causing by this action some irritation among the presiding officers of the association, some of whom are conscious of not being white."

*563 571 576 565 In a society of aristocratic traditions, such as that of Bahia, etiquette concerning the relations between people of different social levels is very important. A person who has "cheek," who oversteps the limits that his rank or his position of outsider sets for him, by resorting, without cause, to manners that reveal a certain intimacy or identity of positions, is always disliked, even if he is white. This is even worse if he is colored, for in this case he is accused not only of ill breeding, but even of brazenness, someone who "takes a great deal of liberty" with those whom he does not know or who "are not of his class." The word "class" used in this sense means a very low social status. "The opposition that appears against the social ascent of Negroes," said an almost black person, "is explained by their lack of education and their bad manners. It is the same with mulattoes, for if some are

/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
576 the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

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1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 for many people, is more a question of class than a question of
565 race, "the primacy of culture and of class" having the ascendancy,
one may say with a mulatto educator that "if he has money, education, and manners, the Black can elevate himself." This synthesis,
however, does not exhaust all the aspects of the problem. A
very dark woman of liberal profession declares that "a Black, in
order to elevate himself socially, must have talent and friend-
[571] ships." In truth, good personal and family relationships are very
important for everybody in Bahia, whether in trade, in administration, or in politics. A maxim constantly cited by Brazilians
teaches that "a friend at hand is worth more than money in the till,"
which means that any enterprise is easier when the interested party
is given a "personal" introduction by a friend of the person with
whom he must deal. One informant insists on explaining that she
does not believe money has a great influence on the social ascent
of colored people; she knows several among them who, having
previously made a fortune, did not succeed in elevating them-
[156] selves. "For in order to elevate oneself it is necessary not to have
an inferiority complex. There are many Blacks who not only do
not dare to approach Whites of a high class, but transmit this fear
to their children." The fact that the black color recalls the ancient
slaves is cited by many as an explanation for the difficulties that
[567] the darkest ones encounter in attaining a high rank. "Lately risen
[826] from the depths of slavery," writes a priest of mixed blood, "rare
are the Negroes who succeed in reaching a high level or position.
[571] As for mulattoes and morenos (who are not true Blacks), we can
say that, from all points of view, they live in harmony with the
Whites, at least here in Bahia." A doctor makes the same comment: "As far as the morenos are concerned, they have a position
equivalent to that of the Whites; but it is not correct to say that
the Blacks can easily attain the highest offices or positions of the
first order in the most esteemed professions. As for mulattoes, one
finds some of them in the positions that we have just named,
without being able to deny, however, that for the métis whose
color closely approaches that of the Negroes, this pigmentation of
the skin creates obstacles to the various careers mentioned. On

[SALVADOR]

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the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

[826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

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The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

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Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

[SALVADOR]

/38 cont./
*563 of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus
565 mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify
554 that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the in-
•571 formants' reactions of resentment against people who are much
[124] higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not
[829] know them personally. A number of persons questioned even
showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 /39/ **Interracial Marriages**
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For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 One of the reasons why mixed marriages are desired is, as we have already said, that thanks to them it is possible to "improve one's own race." Marriages of Blacks with Blacks only prolong the situation, thinks a black man of liberal profession who is considered a racist. "The mulatto son is accepted better and does not suffer what his family has suffered." The finer features of children of mixed blood, declares another informant, facilitates their social integration. "To have a white father," he adds, "is in itself an advantage." A mulatto of dark complexion relates that he started to work in very humble and arduous occupations, but his situation began to improve /43/ when a very important politician learned that he was the son of one of his white friends. He then obtained office work, which left him time to study until he passed his university examinations. Another man practicing a liberal profession believes that one of the assets that he had during his childhood was to have a white father, who, although of modest means, was intimately acquainted with the politicians of the small locality in which he lived. [571]

As for the particular cases of our informants who are married to white or at least very light women, it is interesting to note that none of them has invoked one of the reasons set forth above in order to justify this preference. Some say they first had a dark fiancée who died or who broke the engagement; it is because of this that they ended up by marrying a light woman. Others do not seek any justification. One of them said: "There are many Whites whom I do not like to see at my house. Nevertheless I married a White of Portuguese descent." Another reason given by some informants is that dark girls refuse young men of their type even when they are graduates and have good positions. It seems, however, that this information is somewhat exaggerated. In the white families in which many of these girls are servants, our informants add, they continually hear it said that "they must avoid these bold and ignorant Blacks." But this warning refers to Blacks of humble circumstances, not to those of a high social or professional rank. The dark boys, said a Black, begin to recognize this difficulty as soon as they reach the age of 20: "That is why they

[SALVADOR]

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*563 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata
873 of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted
178 to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks
511 to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students
is rising from day to day.

*563 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored
555 people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make ex-
593 traordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will
873 permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the
various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous
*563 colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of
● 571 their white comrades and who form groups with them according
873 to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study: certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

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regard to this, one mulatto asserts that the black students are mistreated by their white comrades on the occasion of the trote inflicted on the calouros by the veterans (1);

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1. Trote = jokes and humorous ceremonies with which the older students, the veterans, receive into the schools of the university those newly admitted, or calouros.

two persons practicing a liberal profession and with very pronounced Negroid features asserted exactly the opposite. The esteem of black and mulatto students for their comrades, and the attentions of which they are the object when they show themselves gifted and industrious, are also proof of the harmony of which we have spoken. At the time of the distribution of diplomas, students of all types are mixed together without distinction and embrace one another as a sign of rejoicing; likewise, in the large pictures showing the portraits of the recipients with the insignia of each discipline, the latter are grouped according to the State from which they come (the University of Bahia includes students from different regions of Brazil), but never according to their physical type. The relations between students and professors are likewise good, the "quality" of one or the other influences their relations only in an altogether exceptional way. There were formerly, in the years that followed the abolition of slavery, university professors who were opposed to the entrance of black students in their faculties and who would have liked to prevent them from attending their courses. Such an attitude was sometimes manifest and it did happen that it obtained the tacit support of certain persons; but it was disapproved of /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /81/ on the whole. Only one informant asserted that in the faculty he attended the colored students did not enjoy the same facilities as the Whites. Nevertheless the prize that one of the faculties offers annually to the student who has completed the courses with a total of the highest marks has often been won by young colored people. Black and mulatto

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

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*563 students are admitted, like the others, as probationers at the
• 571 palace of justice, in the laboratories, in the hospital services of
873 the university, etc., and sometimes enjoy exceptional facilities
in pursuing instruction given under the guidance of a professor of
*563 renown. It is said, however, that formerly a school for civil
engineers did not readily admit colored students. This school is
874 particularly strict, and, because of the limited opening that Bahia
[178] represented for engineers some years ago, it had a very small
number of students; in spite of this, it awarded diplomas to Blacks
and to mulattoes, some of whom achieved a first-class position
in their profession or elsewhere; among these is the present director
of the school. If one takes at random the lists of students graduated
in the course of different years, one can confirm that all types are
found among them, the proportion of those with very dark skin
being very high. The fact that there are very few civil engineers
who are really black is explained by the small number of diplomas
awarded by this school in comparison to others of the University
of Bahia (1).

1. The Polytechnical School of Bahia in 1918 awarded diplomas to 23 students, two of them mulattoes; in 1948 it awarded a diploma to 51 students, among them one Black and ten métis, and in 1949 to 68 students, among them six métis.

*563 According to a mulatto informant, "there is a sector prohibited
873 to Blacks and to colored persons: the university professorship." And
875 he relates that having been a candidate for a university chair himself, anyone could say that his competence was unquestionable, but that "he was a mulatto..." Nevertheless he was accepted. Two other informants relate that a young man practicing a liberal profession, assistant in one of the faculties, had been excluded because he was mulatto, despite his recognized competence. The facts seem to contradict such interpretations, for all the faculties of Bahia have always had colored professors, though in different proportions. In the gallery of portraits of the oldest among them,

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* 563 Among the intellectuals of whom Bahia is proud and who
554 are included among its great names, there are some who are
• 571 very dark. One of them, speaking of the mixture of races, says that "the descendants of the crossings mentioned are to be found in Brazil in all social classes, in all professions, even the most intellectual" (3).

[113] 3. Viuva J. Moreina, "Juliano Moreina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil /Juliano Moreina and the problem of the Negro mestizo in Brazil/," in Novos estudos afro-brasileiros /Recent Afro-Brazilian Studies/, G. Freyre and others, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

The colored intellectuals not only do not form a separate group, but are judged and classed solely according to their talent and their works, and in scientific and literary associations occupy positions corresponding to their importance. When, in 1923,
[527] the first centenary of the struggles for national independence in the territory of Bahia was commemorated, a very well-known photographer in the city, in collaboration with a historian and professor of the university, put together a large picture with the portraits of the Bahian intellectuals who at that time enjoyed the greatest renown: members of parliament, jurists, poets, prose writers, sacred orators, biologists, physicians, musicians, engineers, folklorists, educators, journalists, linguists of both sexes. Among the 79 intellectuals represented, one counted one cabôclo and 20 morenos and pardos, some of them quite /86/ pigmented. One of the four portraits most in view in the upper part of this composition was that of a dark mulatto, already mentioned above as a historian, engineer, and linguist; his picture was placed in the same port as that of Ruy Barbosa, a famous jurist and leader, who is considered "the greatest of Brazilians." The portraits of other métis appeared among those of numerous white intellectuals.
[538] Among the recently published 100 biographies of the most notable Bahians of the period that extends from 1564 to 1925, there are 12

[SALVADOR]

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*563 métis celebrated as poets, jurists, linguists, physicians, and
554 preachers, including a son of slaves, who, in the second half
571 of the last century, because of his origin, had great difficulty in
538 being accepted in a faculty of law of his country (1).

[113] 1. A. Loureiro Souza, Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925, Bahia, 1949.

All this testifies to the fact that intellectuals are judged according to the standards that apply to the whole of society, without color being taken into account. The literary critics, for example, affirm that the greatest living Bahian poet is a dark pardo and that a moreno is one of the best poets Bahia has had in recent decades. Moreover, the most listened-to literary and artistic critic, who died a few years ago, was a branqueado (whitened) mulatto, who exerted a great influence on the local intellectual
[527] life. When, on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the Lusitanian poet Camoens, the Portuguese colony celebrated Race Day, it was a dark mulatto who, in the name of Brazilians, gave the address of welcome to the Portuguese, while a celebrated sacred orator took the floor for the latter; in 1949, when the fourth centenary of the founding of the city was commemorated, the government of the State, in posthumous homage to this same mulatto intellectual, published one of his remaining unpublished historical works (2).

[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador /History of the Founding of the City of Salvador/, edited by the Secretaria do Educaçao e Saúde, Bahia, 1949.

*563 The favorable position given colored people in the intellec-
554 tual milieus is reflected in certain comments that we gathered in
571 the course of our investigation on colored people. One of them made the following remark: "Colored people owe much to Whites, it is they who praise the Negroes of merit and who make known their name and their works." Another assured us that "among intellectuals there was no color prejudice."

[SALVADOR]

/86 cont./

*563 814 •571 The Academy of Letters of Bahia, an institution that groups Bahian intellectuals of the greatest renown, includes among its 41 founders eight mulattoes of the most varied shades of skin. One of them, an educator of repute, became a /87/ national celebrity for his works on Portuguese grammar and for the polemic on linguistic problems that he carried on with his old disciple Ruy Barbosa. Two mulattoes -- a very distinguished professor of medicine and another, both an engineer and historian -- were corresponding members of this famous association. Since its founding in 1917, the Academy has counted among its members 15 morenos and mulattoes: among them are names of which Bahia is justly proud. [538] The group of poets and prose writers who, under the influence of symbolism, were originally part of an important literary movement was made up in large part of colored men.

/88/ Recreational Clubs

*563 575 The social and recreational clubs are the sector where admittance is the most difficult for persons of very dark color, if one is to believe the majority of informants. Some of them even declare that the obstacles that stand in the way of their entry into such organizations are due both to color prejudices and to the fact that these associations are dominated by the old families who resist the admission of members not belonging to their social and economic group. [565] It seems, however, that even in the very select clubs of Bahia there are fissures in the class barriers: none of these clubs can keep itself strictly closed nor strictly aristocratic either from the point of view of the filiation of its members to the old families or from that of their color. And this so much the more because the founder groups permitted, not only finos Whites, but persons "socially white" or "white in color" (brancas na côr).

[SALVADOR]

/92 cont./

* 563 mulatto professor that one of his friends wanted to enroll him in
575 a club of the intermediate category located in a neighborhood of
the same order, took his photograph for the club file, and ... never told him the result of his procedure: he concluded from it that the refusal was motivated by his "quality."

It is obvious that all the cases cannot be interpreted simply as examples of the screening carried on against colored persons. One notes, however, that this is a sector of social relations where there is a certain conflict, although the tension that results from it is concealed by a mechanism of accommodation on both sides. On the one hand, the clubs allege not to have in their statutes provisions that oppose the admission of colored persons, even black ones, and endeavor to give rational explanations for what the excluded candidates consider acts of discrimination: on the other hand, dark colored persons assume an attitude of negative defense by suppressing the aggressive impulses which usually result from states of frustration.

* 563 In student celebrations that take place in the halls of the
● 571 clubs of the highest category, restrictions against the entry of
574 dark colored persons and against dancing between Whites and
Blacks are considerably reduced. This is what the informants say, and observation altogether confirms this statement. In family reunions, not very frequent in our day among the upper classes, discrimination is relaxed. "Familiarity makes prejudices fall away," according to the utterance of a Black. "When a Black appears at a white family celebration," a student asserts, "he arouses a certain curiosity and a certain reserve until he is introduced and one knows who he is. But from the moment he is introduced, especially if he is a friend of the family, he does not encounter any difficulty in dancing even with white girls." "The girls in such cases do not, or very rarely, refuse to dance with a colored boy, especially if it is a matter of a student or a well-bred person; the mothers, however, create some opposition and appear uneasy to see their daughters approached by a dark young man, sometimes fearing that they will fall in love." This information is given by a mulatto practicing a liberal profession, who, when he was a student, took part in numerous family celebrations at the homes of Whites.

[SALVADOR]

/104 cont./

000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[567] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the
Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five
know how to read and write, and their number is increasing
every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening
the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them
in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
• 571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered
socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are
the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are
treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial
relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words,
Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented
unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is